

**Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador-Designate Marie L. Yovanovitch by
Senator Barbara Boxer (#1)
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
June 19, 2008**

Question:

Can you please provide the State Department's definition of the term genocide and an explanation of how the killing and forced exile of 1.5 million Armenians between 1915-1923 fails to meet that definition?

Answer:

The United States became a State Party to the Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1989. Genocide is defined in Article II of the Convention, as subject to the understandings made by the Senate in providing its advice and consent to ratification, and the State Department accepts that definition.

The Administration has never denied the terrible events of 1915 and acknowledges the human tragedy of the mass killings and forced exile of as many as 1.5 million Armenians at the end of the Ottoman Empire. The Administration also understands that many Americans and many Armenians believe that these events should be called "genocide." It has been the policy of this Administration, as well as that of previous administrations of both parties, not to use that term. The President's focus is on remembering the

past and on encouraging Turkish citizens to reconcile with their past and with the Armenian people. The United States believes that establishing an honest albeit painful dialogue on these events is the best way to achieve reconciliation, peace and stability in the region and to help encourage a full understanding of these terrible events.

**Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador-Designate Marie L. Yovanovitch by
Senator Barbara Boxer (#2)
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
June 19, 2008**

Question:

Have you, at any time, been advised, counseled, or informed in an explicit or implicit way not to use the term genocide?

Answer:

Policy on this issue is determined by the President. I understand that I have a duty to faithfully represent the policy of the President. There is the same expectation for all Foreign Service officers and Executive Branch officials – regardless of the subject.

**Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador-Designate Marie L. Yovanovitch by
Senator Barbara Boxer (#3)
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
June 19, 2008**

Question:

Have you reviewed the evidence provided by our own U.S. diplomats and Ambassadors at the time of the 1915 Armenian Genocide (including reports and cables from U.S. Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, U.S. Ambassador Abram Elkus, U.S. Consul Jesse Jackson, and U.S. Consul Leslie Davis) that is available in the U.S. archives?

Answer:

I have read a number of books on this subject that quote from the officials you mention, and I am familiar with key passages that they have written, including those passages that were raised during my confirmation hearing on June 19. I am acquainted with the history of the tragic massacres and forced exile that occurred at the end of the Ottoman Empire, and with U.S. policy in that regard. I also have reviewed the “U.S. Official Records on the Armenian Genocide 1915-1917,” and have read a number of books looking at the subject from various perspectives. The individual stories are horrifying; the magnitude of these terrible acts – over 1.5 million killed or forcibly deported – is simply incomprehensible.

**Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador-Designate Marie L. Yovanovitch by
Senator Barbara Boxer (#4)
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
June 19, 2008**

Question:

Do you acknowledge that the U.S. government affirmed the Armenian Genocide in its 1951 International Court of Justice (ICJ) filing, which read in part:

The Genocide Convention resulted from the inhuman and barbarous practices, which prevailed in certain countries prior to and during World War II, when entire religious, racial and national minority groups were threatened with and subjected to deliberate extermination. The practice of genocide has occurred throughout human history. The Roman persecution of the Christians, the Turkish massacres of Armenians, the extermination of millions of Jews and Poles by the Nazis are outstanding examples of the crime of genocide. (Document attached).

Answer:

It is my understanding that the U.S. government did file this document with the International Court of Justice in 1951.

**Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador-Designate Marie L. Yovanovitch by
Senator Barbara Boxer (#5)
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
June 19, 2008**

Question:

Do U.S.-Turkish relations influence the Bush Administration's policy concerning the Armenian Genocide in any way?

Answer:

Turkey is a long-standing NATO ally of the United States and an important partner in promoting peace and stability in the broader Middle East. We seek to maintain strong U.S.-Turkey relations, just as we seek to maintain strong U.S.-Armenian relations. We do not believe that use of the term "genocide" will contribute to Turkish-Armenian reconciliation and normalization of relations. Instead, we are encouraging Turkey to open its border, reinstitute transportation, communication, and utility links between the two countries, and re-establish diplomatic relations. The Administration also has pressed for expanding freedom of expression in Turkey, which has helped to expand the public debate surrounding the events of 1915 and led to the amendment of Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code, under which individuals have been prosecuted for "insulting Turkishness."

**Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador-Designate Marie L. Yovanovitch by
Senator Barbara Boxer (#6)
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
June 19, 2008**

Question:

Do you fear you could lose your job or be demoted if you were to use the word “genocide” to describe the atrocities committed against the Armenians?

Answer:

Policy on this issue is determined by the President. I understand that I have a duty to represent the policy of the President faithfully. There is the same expectation for all Foreign Service officers and executive branch officials – regardless of the subject.

**Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador-Designate Marie L. Yovanovitch by
Senator Barbara Boxer (#7)
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
June 19, 2008**

Question:

In preparations for this hearing, you may have reviewed your predecessor's responses to questions from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Do you have any reservations about Ambassador Richard Hoagland's initial written responses to the SFRC?

Answer:

I did review his responses. I believe that we must make it clear that the Administration has never denied the facts – as many as 1.5 million Armenians were murdered, starved, or deported at the end of the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, the Administration has stated this quite clearly. This was a tragedy that we and the world must never forget, so that it is never repeated. We mourn this terrible chapter of history and recognize that it remains a source of great pain for the people of Armenia and of Armenian descent, and for all those who believe in the dignity and value of every human life.

**Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador-Designate Marie L. Yovanovitch by
Senator Barbara Boxer (#8)
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
June 19, 2008**

Question:

What actions, if any, would you take against your employees if they properly characterized the massacre of Armenians during WWI as genocide?

Answer:

As representatives of this Administration, all State Department officers have the duty to represent the policies of the President and his Administration faithfully, and I would expect the same of my staff. This is a basic tenet of a diplomatic career. At the same time, Secretary Rice has made it clear that there are no taboo subjects for internal discussion and that all viewpoints are respectfully heard. I would follow the same policy with my employees.

**Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador-Designate Marie L. Yovanovitch by
Senator Barbara Boxer (#9)
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
June 19, 2008**

Question:

Would you advise members of Congress against supporting the Armenian Genocide resolution, H.Res.106, which was recently passed by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs?

Answer:

If confirmed, as the personal representative of the President of the United States, I would have the duty of faithfully representing the policies of the President and his Administration. If asked by Members of Congress, I would provide my understanding of the reasoning underlying the President's policy.

**Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador-Designate Marie L. Yovanovitch by
Senator Barbara Boxer (#10)
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
June 19, 2008**

Question:

Would you support a decision to allow USAID personnel who are not Armenian nationals to visit Nagorno Karabakh?

Answer:

USAID personnel, like other U.S. officials, may travel to Nagorno-Karabakh with the permission of the U.S. Co-Chair of the OSCE Minsk Group, who has the U.S. lead in mediating the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. USAID personnel have traveled to Nagorno-Karabakh in the past with the permission of the U.S. Co-Chair to implement humanitarian aid programs.

**Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador-Designate Marie L. Yovanovitch by
Senator Barbara Boxer (#11)
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
June 19, 2008**

Question:

Would you visit with government officials from Nagorno-Karabakh if they requested such a meeting?

Answer:

The U.S. Co-Chair and his staff maintain regular contact with de facto officials from Nagorno-Karabakh. Under current U.S. policy, if confirmed, I would not meet with such officials unless requested to do so by the U.S. Co-Chair.

**Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador-Designate Marie L. Yovanovitch by
Senator Barbara Boxer (#12)
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
June 19, 2008**

Question:

Will you consult with former Ambassador John Evans before you depart for Armenia?

Answer:

Yes, if confirmed, I would consult with former Ambassador Evans and others before I depart for Armenia in order to better understand the complex issues and challenges that I would face.